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## A DECADE OF LUTHER STUDY <sup>1</sup>

PRESERVED SMITH

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

SINCE the last biographies of Luther in English appeared, nearly ten years ago, a vast amount of light has been shed on the subject by the discovery of new documents and by the intensive research of a great army of the learned. A special stimulus was supplied to their zeal by the celebration of the Reformation quadricentenary in 1917; and the fact that America was cut off from Germany for four years out of the last ten, and that the books of her production have only begun to reach us in large numbers, may add another reason, were it necessary, for offering an extensive review of the outstanding work in this field since the end of the year 1910. For the sake of convenience the more detailed studies will be taken up first, in the chronological order of events in Luther's life; the more general collections of works, bibliographies, biographies, and estimates, will follow after.

### I. EARLY LIFE, 1483-1517

The German proverb,

Wer den Dichter will verstehen  
Muss in des Dichters Heimat gehen,

is true of other great men besides poets. A good introduction to the beautiful scenery and historical relics of Eisenach and Mansfeld has been furnished by Kutzke <sup>2</sup> and, on a much less pretentious scale, by Helen Kendall Smith.<sup>3</sup> In this region Hans Luther "the Big" lived with his large family, and here

<sup>1</sup> Presented at the meeting of the American Society of Church History, December 27, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> G. Kutzke, *Aus Luthers Heimat*, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> 'Luther Byways,' *Lutheran Survey*, October 23, 1918.

also lived another Hans Luther "the Little," his own brother, if we may believe Otto Scheel, whose thorough research has put him at the head of the authorities for this period of Martin's life.<sup>4</sup> The other Hans Luther, if indeed we can accept the distinction made very remarkable by the same name for the brothers, may have been the rough character to whom Wicel's well-known anecdote that Luther's father fled from Eisenach because he had committed a murder applies. That Martin was the oldest son seems now to be settled, though Köhler credits a saying in the Table Talk that he was the second.<sup>5</sup> From the fact that Luther, when matriculating at Erfurt on May 2, 1501, paid the full fee of thirty groschen, it has been inferred that his father at this time was in fairly comfortable circumstances.<sup>6</sup> Much new light on Luther's student life may be derived not only from the researches of Neubauer, Bernay,<sup>7</sup> and Scheel, but from the recent discovery, by H. Degering, of an old letter-book containing letters of Luther and his friends to their former teachers and pastor in Eisenach.<sup>8</sup>

One of these epistles, from the schoolmaster of Eisenach, Trebonius, dated February 5, 1505, speaks of Martin's good health and success, and holds him up as a model to the addressee of the missive, Lewis Han. Three of the letters are attributed by Degering to Luther, one dated April 28, 1507, inviting a teacher to his first mass, and signed by his name, being almost universally accepted as genuine. Another letter, unsigned, dated February 23, 1503, modestly disclaims the praise bestowed upon the writer by his correspondent, asks to borrow a book of Lyra, and apologizes for having eaten and drunken too much. This letter, though defended by Paquier as a welcome proof of the Reformer's early intemperance, has

<sup>4</sup> Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther: Vom Katholizismus zur Reformation*. 2 vols. 1917 (vol. i in 2d ed.). On the two Hans Luthers, see Scheel, i, 6; Buchwald, *Lutherkalendar*, 1910, and *Luther's Correspondence*, i, 22, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> 'Luther,' in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, iii (1912), col. 2412. Against this, Scheel, i, 3.

<sup>6</sup> T. T. Neubauer, *Luthers Frühzeit*, 1917, p. 46 (*Jahrbücher d. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Erfurt*, N. F. xliii).

<sup>7</sup> F. Bernay, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt und der Universität Erfurt am Ausgange des Mittelalters*, 1919.

<sup>8</sup> Published in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxxiii, 1916.

been rejected by all other scholars, and in my opinion rightly.<sup>9</sup> On the third letter, dated September 5, 1501, and signed "Martinus Viropolitanus" or "Martin of Mansfeld City," there is much difference of opinion. Neubauer, Böhmer and Scheel reject it; Kawerau and Flemming are undecided; but I concur with Freitag in regarding it as perfectly genuine and a valuable new light on the boy's student days. In order to enable English readers to judge for themselves I here translate it:<sup>10</sup>

*Luther to John Braun at Eisenach*<sup>11</sup>

PORTA COELI, ERFURT, SEPTEMBER 5, 1501

Greeting. Kindest of men. Joyfully I received both your messenger and your salutations chosen for me, by which I learn that your kindness towards me has not only not diminished but has even increased. I quite rejoice; and for the special and familiar benevolence with which you visit me, although I am not able to return fitting thanks, yet I have great and immortal gratitude, for you sufficiently deserve this from me more than from any mortal.

Now, to satisfy your curiosity, know that fair fortune and good health are mine, and that, by the favor of the saints,<sup>12</sup> I am settled here as pleasantly as possible. Nor would I have you ignorant that I am serving under that teacher of liberal arts N.,<sup>13</sup> my countryman, at the house of Porta Coeli.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Paquier, *Luther et l'Allemagne*, 1918, p. 95; Köhler in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 19; Kawerau in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1916, col. 331 f.; Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix, 247 f., and *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiii, 24. Freitag thinks the letter from Han to Trebonius.

<sup>10</sup> Scheel, *op. cit.*, i (2d ed.), 140, and note on p. 293. The most thorough discussion is in Neubauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff. (1) He says Luther would not have been guilty of writing the hybrid word "Viropolitanus," and that it means "Manstedt," not Mansfeld, but I think it means the city as distinguished from the county of Mansfeld. (2) He thinks there is difficulty in identifying the teacher of whom Luther speaks as fellow-countryman, but this is not convincing. (3) He says that Luther's known teacher, J. Greffenstein (John Ansorg of Gräfenstein, on whom see *ibid.*, pp. 225 ff.), was not at Porta Coeli. (4) He says that Luther was at Bursa of St. George, not at Porta Coeli. But he might have changed. Cf. also Biereye, *Die Erfurter Lutherstätten nach ihrer geschichtlicher Begläubigung*, 1917; P. Flemming in *Luthers Briefwechsel*, xvii, 1920, p. 83; W. Köhler, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 19. H. Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*,<sup>5</sup> 1918, p. 309 doubts the genuineness of all three letters.

<sup>11</sup> Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, xvii, 82; *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxxiii (1916), 78.

<sup>12</sup> *Diis faventibus*, "by favor of the gods," meant the same as the "favor of the saints" at this period.

<sup>13</sup> According to Degering's note, *loc. cit.*, this teacher was John Greffenstein.

<sup>14</sup> This was a foundation for the support of poor students: a full account of it in O. Scheel, *Luther*, i (2d ed., 1917), and A. Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix (1919), 247 ff.

This is due to the persuasion of my generous kinsmen when I visited my father's house. But this is nothing to you.

Finally I beg and beseech you to bear it patiently that so long a time has passed without my sending you a letter. Could I have done so I should have complied with your wishes thus, for indeed long ago I had two letters ready to be taken to you, but I could not find a messenger.

Last of all, as I close, please give my warm greetings to your neighbor.<sup>14a</sup> Farewell, most revered of men.

Martin of Mansfeld, your honorary umpire.<sup>15</sup> To N., the soldier of the Lord.<sup>16</sup>

The problem of Luther's inner development from the day he took the vow to be a monk until the day when the message came to him, with such force that he believed it to be a revelation of the Holy Ghost, that man was justified by faith only, has attracted more attention than perhaps any other in this field. After Grisar's discoveries that the essence of the doctrine was pure passivity, and that the supposed revelation came to him as late as 1519 and in a most unpleasant place, a fresh attempt to solve the problem was made by the application of the psycho-analytical theories of Sigmund Freud.<sup>17</sup> An early, indeed infantile, experience of bodily hardship and spiritual terror implanted in the boy's mind a desperate impression of the power and danger of concupiscence, and it was this, working out under manifold modification of later study and ascetic experience, that brought him, through a sense of his own weakness, to throw himself entirely on the merits of the Saviour. The attempt, though in line with previous researches by Braun, Hausrath, Köhler, and others, who had noticed the neurotic elements in Luther's strong character, was criticized by Scheel

<sup>14a</sup> Text *conterinam*, might be changed to *Catarinam*, meaning Braun's sister, but much more likely *conterminam*, 'neighbor,' referring to some lady Luther had known at Eisenach, perhaps to Ursula Cotta.

<sup>15</sup> *Martinus viropolitanus arbiter tuus onerarius*. That *viropolitanus* means "from the town of Mansfeld" is quite certain, however meaningless the barbarous compound itself may be. The *arbiter tuus onerarius* was a jocose title given Luther by Braun, with allusion to Cicero, *Tusc.* v. 120, where Cicero says that in philosophical disputes on virtue and the good, Carneades would act *tanquam honorarius arbiter*.

<sup>16</sup> That this letter is really to Braun is proved by the fact that the same title *divinus miles* is given to him in Letter 11.

<sup>17</sup> Preserved Smith, 'Luther's Early Development in the Light of Psychoanalysis,' *American Journal of Psychology*, July, 1913; *Id.*, 'Luther's Development of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith Only,' *Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1913.

as derogatory to the Reformer's personality. Scheel not only idealizes Luther, but, as Köhler noticed in a review, makes him too normal; Scheel is always asking simply what the average student or friar would have experienced, and applying this to his subject. Thus he denies the value of some of Luther's own most explicit sayings, such as that he was forced to do the menial work of the cloister as a novice, and that he almost broke down through nervous terror when saying his first mass. But Scheel has no right to set aside testimony inconvenient to his thesis — as he does both in his large book and in a small selection of extracts from the Reformer's works, intended to illustrate the course of his development<sup>18</sup> — and for this he has been severely and on the whole justly criticized by A. V. Müller.<sup>19</sup> Müller accuses him not only of this tendency but of ignorance of "the Catholic psyche" and of medieval theology, in which field Müller's own reading is remarkably large.<sup>20</sup> His own thesis, doubtless carried too far, is that everything in Luther can be found in his predecessors, and that there is practically nothing original at all in the Reformer's thought. Ernst Troeltsch<sup>21</sup> speaks of Luther's early days as an insoluble problem, full of nervous crises and melancholy.

The tendency, however, is now to emphasize the normality and cheerfulness of the boy's life as a student, and consequently to throw into stronger relief the suddenness of his vow to be a monk and the regret he felt for it afterwards.<sup>22</sup> That it was influenced by the outbreak of plague in 1505 is denied by Scheel, but is again made probable by Neubauer. That he was ordained priest on April 3, 1507, is now considered likely.<sup>23</sup> Scheel denies the early influence of Staupitz, and Müller thinks that the spiritual director who helped him so much in the

<sup>18</sup> O. Scheel, *Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung*, 1911.

<sup>19</sup> A. V. Müller, *Luthers Werdegang bis zum Turmerlebnis*, 1920, and in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1917, pp. 496 ff.

<sup>20</sup> A. V. Müller, *Luthers theologische Quellen*, 1912.

<sup>21</sup> 'Luther und der Protestantismus,' *Neue Rundschau*, xxviii (1917), p. 1312.

<sup>22</sup> Scheel, i, 259; Neubauer, p. 99; Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix, 270 ff.; Biereye, pp. 180 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxvii (1917), p. 216; Scheel, 'Luthers Primiz,' in *Studien G. Kawerau dargebracht*, 1917, pp. 1 ff.

cloister was Usingen.<sup>24</sup> The importance of the doctorate has attracted the attention of Steinlein.<sup>25</sup>

The exact course of Luther's development during these cloister years has been traced by a large number of scholars, and agreement on it seems far from reached. The date of the "conversion" has been put by Böhmer in 1505, by Scheel in the winter of 1512-13, by Müller in 1514, and by Grisar in 1519. My own opinion that it came when Luther had begun to lecture on Romans, in the late spring or early summer of 1515, has been confirmed by the subsequent researches of Bonwetsch.<sup>26</sup> Particularly thorough studies have been made of the influence of the mystics on the Reformer.<sup>27</sup>

A new source of considerable importance for these years is the publication, for the first time, of Luther's earliest lectures on Galatians, given from October 27, 1516, to April 24, 1517.<sup>28</sup> While they contain no such treasures as the lectures on Romans, they offer many a welcome addition to our previous knowledge. For one thing they show the Erasmian influence at its maximum, not only by the many quotations from the editor of the Greek Testament, but by the preference of the author for Jerome against Augustine (pp. 18, 39). This is particularly interesting, as Humbert has derived the alienation of Erasmus

<sup>24</sup> *Werdegang*, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> H. Steinlein, *Luthers Doktorat*, 1912. Cf. Enders, xvii, 86 f.; *Luther's Correspondence*, i, no. 4.

<sup>26</sup> *Harvard Theological Review*, 1913, p. 420, note; Scheel, ii, 318 ff.; Müller, *Werdegang*, 130; Cf. *Tischreden*, Weimar, iii, no. 3232; *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, xxxv, 86. Cf. also O. Ritschl, 'Luthers seelische Kämpfe in seiner früheren Mönchtum,' *Internationale Wochenschrift*, January 21, 1911; F. Loofs, 'Justitia dei passiva in Luthers Anfängen,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1911, pp. 461-473; A. Humbert, *Les origines de la théologie moderne*, 1911; W. Köhler, 'Luther bis 1521,' *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, ed. Pflugk-Harttung, 1912; E. Billing, *1517-1521: ett bidrag till frågan om Luthers religiösa och teologiska utvecklingsgång*, 1917; H. von Schubert, *Luthers Frühentwicklung bis 1517-19*, 1916; G. N. Bonwetsch, *Wie wurde Luther zum Reformator?*, 1917.

<sup>27</sup> A. V. Müller, *Luther und Tauler*, 1918; *Die Predigten Taulers*, hrsg. von F. Vetter, 1910; *Der Frankfurter (deutsche theologia)*, hrsg. von W. Uhl (*Kleine Texte*, no. 96); Hunziger, 'Luther und die deutsche Mystik,' *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xix, 972-988; G. Siedel, *Die Mystik Taulers*, 1911; M. Windstosser, *Étude sur la 'Théologie germanique'*, 1912.

<sup>28</sup> *Luthers Vorlesung über den Galaterbrief 1516-17*, hrsg. von Hans von Schubert, 1918. On this, further, J. Ficker, *Luther, 1517*, 1918.

and Luther from the preference of the humanist for Jerome and of the friar for Augustine.<sup>29</sup> These lectures also show that Luther had fully arrived at his doctrine of justification by faith only, and that he was still exercised by the distinction between the law and the gospel which he later described as the crux of his early theology. The best commentary on Luther's early exegesis of Scripture is not found in the recent Protestant work of Schlatter,<sup>30</sup> or in the Catholic essay of Lagrange,<sup>31</sup> but in a brilliant little book by Meissinger,<sup>32</sup> pointing out the exact limitations as well as the strength of the Wittenberg professor. More light may be expected from the publication of the commentary on Hebrews, now in preparation. Extracts from it may be found in Grisar's first volume.

The journey to Rome has been carefully studied by Böhmer,<sup>33</sup> by whom the exact condition of the city at the time is well set forth. In this respect much may also be gathered from the sumptuous work of Rodocanachi.<sup>34</sup> The discovery by Kawerau of some notes of the Augustinian General, Aegidius Viterbo, has definitely settled the time of the trip as in the winter of 1510-1511.<sup>35</sup> That Luther was sent as a delegate of the convents protesting against Staupitz's attempt to force them all into the "Observants," and that while at Rome he changed sides and went over to Staupitz, thus making his transfer from Erfurt to Wittenberg necessary soon after his return, as asserted by Grisar, is probable, though it has been denied by Scheel. A new light on the famous story of the ascent of the Scala Santa interrupted by the thought, "Who knows whether the prayer said here avails?" has come from a sermon of 1545 recently discovered.<sup>36</sup> According to this Luther was performing the act in order to get the soul of a forbear out of purgatory, and

<sup>29</sup> Humbert, *op. cit.*, chap. 5: St. Jérôme contre St. Augustine.

<sup>30</sup> A. Schlatter, *Luthers Deutung des Römerbriefes*, 1917.

<sup>31</sup> M. J. Lagrange, *Luther on the Eve of his Revolt*, translated by W. S. Reilly, 1918 (originally written 1914-16, on Luther's Commentary on Romans).

<sup>32</sup> K. A. Meissinger, *Luthers Exegese in der Frühzeit*, 1911.

<sup>33</sup> H. Böhmer, *Luthers Romfahrt*, 1914.

<sup>34</sup> E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au Temps de Jules II et de Léon X*, 1912. Cf. what Luther says of seeing the Barigel at Rome (*Werke*, Berlin, viii, 134) with Rodocanachi, p. 276.

<sup>35</sup> *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxii, 604.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 607.



stopped because of doubt. Since then a plate has been found at Delft with a picture of the Scala Santa and the legend, "Who knows whether this is genuine?"<sup>37</sup> showing possibly that Luther's doubts were occasioned rather by suspicion of the genuineness of the relic than by the dawning thought of justification by faith. One of the most interesting new discoveries is that by Grisar that on his return journey, in order to avoid the wars in North Italy, Luther returned through France, saying mass at Nice probably on January 20, 1511, thence through Pernes near Avignon, where he was the guest of the Augustinian cloister, and then up the Rhone Valley and through Switzerland.<sup>38</sup>

## II. THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION, 1517-1521

A general review of this period is offered in convenient form in two works by Professor Dau.<sup>39</sup> On the theory and practice of indulgences something may be found scattered here and there in recent works,<sup>40</sup> notably in a study of contemporary documents by Göller. New studies of the Ninety-five Theses have exhibited their logical order,<sup>41</sup> have shown that they were printed by Luther himself before they were posted on the castle church,<sup>42</sup> and have discussed their theological postulates.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Theologische Rundschau*, xv (1912), 88 f.; Grisar, iii, 958. A. Eckhof, 'Luther en de Pilatus-Trap te Rome,' *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N. S., xii, 1 ff., 1916.

<sup>38</sup> H. Grisar, 'Lutheranalekten,' *Historisches Jahrbuch*, xxxix (1919), 487 ff.

<sup>39</sup> W. H. T. Dau, *The Leipzig Debate*, 1919; Id., *The Great Renunciation*, 1920.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. in H. de Jongh, *L'ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain*, 1911, pp. 92 ff.; C. W. Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*, 1912, p. 51, on an English play on indulgences in 1518; G. Guinness, *Peru*, 1908, p. 372, showing that in South America indulgences for the dead are still profitable; E. Göller, *Der Ausbruch der Reformation und die spätmittelalterliche Ablasspraxis*, 1917.

<sup>41</sup> T. Brieger, 'Die Gliederung der 95 Thesen,' *Lenz-Festschrift*, 1910, pp. 1-37.

<sup>42</sup> O. Clemen in *Luthers Werke*, Bonn, i, 1912, p. 1. They were probably printed at Wittenberg with types borrowed from Melchior Lotther of Leipzig, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxv, 164 f. A different conclusion is reached by O. Günther, 'Die Drucker von Luthers Ablassthesen 1517,' *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. ix, 259 ff., 1918. He thinks they were first printed by Jerome Hölzel of Nuremberg and John Thanner Herbipolensis of Leipzig.

<sup>43</sup> M. Rade, *Luthers Rechtfertigungsglaube und seine Bedeutung für die 95 Thesen und für uns*, 1917.

Paul Kalkoff, having mastered this period as has none other, has in many works illuminated the subject of the Roman process against Luther.<sup>44</sup> He shows that Cajetan's *Tractatus de Indulgentiis*, finished at Rome on December 8, 1517, was already directed against Luther, and that the same theologian drafted the bull *Cum postquam* condemning his position; he also shows that the influence of Miltitz has been recently exaggerated.

The influences that bore on Luther during these great years have also been carefully studied by Kalkoff, who would reduce to a minimum the part played by Hutten,<sup>45</sup> whom he thinks neither sincere nor able; and on the other hand would exalt the rôles of Elector Frederic<sup>46</sup> and of Erasmus. Professor D. S. Schaff's interesting study of "A Spurious Tract of John Huss" suggested to a Luther scholar the probability that the work was forged in the interest of the Reformer about 1521.<sup>47</sup> Recently a sixteenth-century manuscript containing Huss's Prophecy of Luther, has been discovered.<sup>48</sup>

A fresh study of the Address to the German Nobility has discovered in it traces of the influence of Marsiglio of Padua and of Occam's politics.<sup>49</sup> New sources have been unearthed relating to the publication of the bull *Exsurge Domine* by Eck in Germany,<sup>50</sup> and to the battle against him waged by the

<sup>44</sup> P. Kalkoff, 'Forschungen zu Luthers römischen Prozess,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxii (1911), pp. 1 ff., 199 ff., 408 ff., 572 ff.; xxxiii (1912), 1 ff. *Id.*, 'Die von Cajetan verfasste Ablassdekretale und seine Verhandlungen mit dem Kurfürsten von Sachsen in Weimar, 28 und 29 Mai, 1519,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, ix (1912), 142 ff.; *Id.*, *Die Miltiziade*, 1911. Cf. also H. Barge, 'Das Vorgehen der Kurie gegen Luther 1518-21,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xxvii (1911).

<sup>45</sup> On Hutten, cf. O. Harnack, 'Ulrich von Hutten,' in *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, hrsg. von Pflugk-Harttung, 1912, pp. 451-554; P. Kalkoff, *Ulrich von Hutten und die Reformation*, 1920.

<sup>46</sup> P. Kalkoff, 'Friedrich der Weise,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiv (1917).

<sup>47</sup> Preserved Smith, 'Note to D. S. Schaff's Spurious Tract of John Huss,' *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1915. On Huss's influence on Luther, cf. *Werke*, Weimar, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>48</sup> J. Truhlar, *Catalogus manu scriptorum Latinorum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Pragensis*, 1906, no. 2774, "Hussi de Luthero vaticinium."

<sup>49</sup> P. Imbart de la Tour, in *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, p. 607. On the influence of Hutten and Capito, Kalkoff, *Hutten*, 1920, p. 74.

<sup>50</sup> J. Greving, 'Zur Verkündigung der Bulle Exsurge Domine,' in *Briefmappe*, i, 1912, pp. 196 ff. Bibliography of early printed editions of the bull in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. ix, 197 ff., and x, 19, 1918-19.

University of Paris.<sup>51</sup> The decisive importance of the burning of the Canon Law has been thus well stated by Workman:<sup>52</sup>

With his usual insight Luther saw that the overthrow of the ecclesiastical jurisprudence of the Middle Ages was a prime necessity if the Augustinian doctrine of grace was ever to receive its old place in the life of the church and the claims of the papacy to be overthrown. . . . In burning the Decretals Luther claimed more than his civil freedom; he asserted the need for a spiritual theology.

A flood of works<sup>53</sup> on the Diet of Worms have laid bare the inner workings and the ecclesiastical-political log-rolling of that famous body. It now appears probable that Leo offered Frederic of Saxony his support in obtaining the imperial crown in return for the surrender of Luther, and it is certain that at the election of Charles, and in the capitulations drawn up by his agents at this time, Frederic stipulated that his subject should be heard, or at least should not be outlawed without a hearing. Thus were foiled Aleander's efforts to prevent Luther's appearance. Some discussion has been aroused by the assertion that Luther's promise to give an answer "without horns or teeth" referred to the student ceremony of "deposition" or hazing a freshman by pretending to extract his horrid horns and tusks.<sup>54</sup> Kalkoff has shown that the placard friendly to Luther, signed with the words "Buntschuch, Buntschuch, Buntschuch," was posted at Worms by Hermann van der Busche.<sup>55</sup> He has also demonstrated that the Edict of Worms was carried through the Diet by imperial pressure and intrigue, contrary to the

<sup>51</sup> A. Clerval, *Régistres des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, i, 1917, pp. 273 f., 278 ff., 285; *Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, 1917, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>52</sup> *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, 1911, p. 165.

<sup>53</sup> P. Kalkoff, *Das Wormser Edikt und die Erlasse des Reichsregiment und der einzelnen Reichsfürsten*, 1917; P. Kalkoff, *Luther und die Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation*, 1917; Kalkoff, *Die Entstehung des Wormser Edikts*, 1913; H. von Schubert, *Die Vorgeschichte der Berufung Luthers auf den Reichstag zu Worms*, 1912 (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, vi.); F. Boller, *Luthers Berufung nach Worms*, Giessen Dissertation, 1912. Documents in J. Kuhn, *Luther und der Wormser Reichstag*, 1913; Kalkoff, 'Zur Entstehung des Wormser Edikts,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiii (1916), pp. 241-276.

<sup>54</sup> H. Böhrer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 4th ed., 1917, p. 147; W. Köhler, *Die deutsche Reformation und die Studenten*, 1917, p. 21; T. T. Neubauer, 'Luthers Frühzeit,' *Erfurter Jahrbücher*, N. F. xliii (1917), p. 47.

<sup>55</sup> *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, viii (1911), pp. 341 ff.

wishes of the majority, and that it was practically a dead letter even in the Catholic states of Germany.

### III. THE GROWTH OF A PROTESTANT PARTY

No sooner had Luther, after his brave deed at Worms, gone to the seclusion of the Wartburg,<sup>56</sup> than the struggle with radicalism, scarcely less hard or less important for the history of his church than the battle with Romanism, began. The old sources having been edited with more care,<sup>57</sup> and some new ones having been added,<sup>58</sup> Barge has defended, while other scholars have impugned,<sup>59</sup> the thesis that the true line of development in the direction of lay religion and of real Protestantism was found by Carlstadt and the other radicals, and was from this time forth rather hindered than helped by the intervention of Luther. In regard to the Zwickau prophets it is interesting to note that the town had long been a hotbed of Waldensian heresy.<sup>60</sup> Luther's sermons against them have been declared by the most recent criticism<sup>61</sup> to be unreliably handed down to us; on the other hand new sayings revealing his really frightful hatred for the radicals have come to light.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Fine historical description of the Wartburg by O. Schmiedel, *Address of Welcome to the Wartburg*, August 12, 1910, reprinted in *Congress of Free Christianity*, 1911, p. 675. One of the noted sights there is the inkspot on the wall, or rather the hole where it was said to have been. Interesting to note that Fynes Moryson saw at Wittenberg in 1591, "an aspersion of ink cast by the Divell when he tempted Luther upon the wall of St. Augustine's college." F. Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1907, i, 16.

<sup>57</sup> H. Barge, *Aktenstücke zur Wittenberger Bewegung*, 1912; H. Lietzmann, *Karlstadt's Abtueung der Bilder und die Wittenberger Beutelordnung (Kleine Texte, no. 74)*.

<sup>58</sup> Accounts of the doings at Wittenberg 1522 by H. Mühlport and J. Pfau, ed. by H. Böhmer, in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxv, 397 ff.

<sup>59</sup> H. Barge, 'Zur Genesis der Frühreformatorischen Vorgänge in Wittenberg,' *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xxv (1914), and article 'Karlstadt' in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, iii; M. von Tiling, 'Der Kampf gegen die Missa privata,' *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xx.

<sup>60</sup> H. Böhmer, in *Schriften des Vereins für niedersächsische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, xxxvi (1915), pp. 1-38.

<sup>61</sup> O. Clemen, *Luthers Werke*, Bonn, ii, 1913, p. 311.

<sup>62</sup> "If Carlstadt believes there is any God in heaven or earth, may Christ never be gracious to me," said Luther. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xi (1914), 141. On Luther's battle with James Schenck, see P. Vetter in *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte*, xxx (1909), 76 ff.; xxxii (1911), 23 ff.

The same years that saw the struggle with radicalism saw the controversy with Henry VIII and the much more important break with humanism in the person of Erasmus. Two studies <sup>63</sup> of the former aim to probe the causes of the alternate enmity and rapprochement of the king and the Reformer and to exhibit the amazing number of opinions offered Henry by divines that bigamy would be a permissible solution of his matrimonial difficulties.

Well worn as is the attractive subject of the relations of Luther and Erasmus, new light may be expected, as it has to some extent been already shed, by the splendid edition of Erasmus's epistles by Mr. P. S. Allen.<sup>64</sup> Even if little new material on this subject has as yet been forthcoming, the proper arrangement of all the letters in order and with full notes is valuable. It is interesting, for example, to know that Erasmus sent the Ninety-five Theses to Colet and More, with favorable comment, on March 5, 1518,<sup>65</sup> and probably sent a greeting to Luther as early as January of that year.<sup>66</sup> Kalkoff has shown,<sup>67</sup> with success on the whole even though with some exaggeration, that Erasmus took a much more favorable view of Luther during his first years than he would himself later admit, and that he tried with great energy and even hardihood to secure him a fair hearing before an impartial court. Luther's completely Augustinian doctrine of the bondage of the will has been illuminated by A. V. Müller,<sup>68</sup> while a few new sources as to the prog-

<sup>63</sup> Preserved Smith, 'Luther and Henry VIII,' *English Historical Review*, 1910; *Id.*, 'German Opinion of the Divorce of Henry VIII,' *ibid.*, 1912. A note on the play against Luther given at the English Court by the children of St. Paul's School is found in C. W. Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, 1912, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>64</sup> *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*, iii, 1913, to June, 1519. Mr. Allen writes me that the fourth volume is now in press and the fifth and sixth ready in manuscript.

<sup>65</sup> Allen, Epp. 785, 786.

<sup>66</sup> Allen, Ep. 755, *saluta Eleutherium Audacem*. Allen does not make the identification with Luther, which, however, seems probable to me. "Eleutherius" was the form in which Luther then wrote his name and by which Erasmus first knew him.

<sup>67</sup> P. Kalkoff, *Erasmus, Luther, und Friedrich der Weise*, 1919.

<sup>68</sup> *Luthers theologischen Quellen*, 1912, pp. 209 f., and *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxv, 135 f. It seems that Luther's comparison of the will to a beast of burden is found in Raymund of Sabunde, and in Augustine, or perhaps Pseudo-Augustine, *Lib. iii Hypomnesticum*; see Seit, *Der authentische Text der Leipziger Disputation*, p. 28.

ress of the controversy have seen the light.<sup>69</sup> A scholarly, if somewhat diffuse, comparison of the Reformer and the humanist, has now come from the pen of Dr. R. H. Murray, of Dublin.<sup>70</sup>

As the Lutheran church was losing the radicals and the humanists, it sustained another shock in the sacramentarian schism, begun indeed by Carlstadt, but carried to its most important lengths by Zwingli and Oecolampadius. New light on the course of the controversy has shone from the pages of the latest edition of Zwingli's works, now in course of publication though much delayed on account of the war,<sup>71</sup> and from several special studies based in large part on this,<sup>72</sup> and by a few new sources;<sup>73</sup> to which will presently be added Bullinger's correspondence, now in preparation for printing. The influence of Carlstadt and Hoen on Zwingli is now clear, as is his somewhat disingenuous tactic in spreading his views by means of an open letter nominally addressed to a Lutheran pastor, Matthew Alber, but in reality not sent to him or to anyone who could forward it to Wittenberg. Hans von Schubert<sup>74</sup> has shown, in a thorough and original work, that the basis of the discussion at Marburg was the symbol known as the Schwabach Articles, drawn up not, as hitherto believed, after, but in reality before, the meeting took place. The unhappy effects of the schism long after Zwingli's death were noted by his followers in Italy<sup>75</sup> and in Switzerland.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Letters of M. Förster, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1911, 1 ff.

<sup>70</sup> *Luther and Erasmus: their Attitude towards Toleration*, 1920.

<sup>71</sup> *Zwingli's Werke*, hrsg. von E. Egli, G. Finsler, und W. Köhler, 1905 ff. Volumes 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 and parts of 4 and 9. The treatises now come to 1525, the correspondence to 1528. An English translation of *The Latin Works and Correspondence of H. Zwingli*, ed. S. M. Jackson, has begun. Vol. i, 1912.

<sup>72</sup> W. Köhler, 'Zum Abendmahlsstreite zwischen Luther und Zwingli,' *Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation*, 1917, pp. 114 ff.; J. A. Faulkner, 'Dies ist mein Leib: a Celebrated Debate,' *Baptist Theological Quarterly*, 1915, pp. 397 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Daniel Greser's Autobiography, in *Zwingliana*, ii (1920), 324; and W. Köhler: *ibid.*, pp. 356 ff., on the Marburg Conference.

<sup>74</sup> *Bündnis und Bekenntnis 1529-30*, 1910.

<sup>75</sup> Letter of Venetian Protestants to Luther, November 26, 1542; Enders, xv, 26.

<sup>76</sup> Bullinger to Vadian, May, 1544; *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, ed. Arbenz und Wartmann, vi (1908), p. 321.

Perhaps this is the most convenient place to recall briefly the new sources and treatment of Luther's relations with Duke George of Saxony.<sup>77</sup>

#### IV. CHURCH BUILDING

None of the numerous recent studies of Luther's Bible are quite so interesting as the protocol of the revisions of 1531 and 1539-41 now first published in the Weimar edition.<sup>78</sup> The immense care, the linguistic genius, and the practical interest of Luther stand out here as never before. Thus, during the sessions of the committee of revision, Luther is reported as saying: "I will sing Psalm 64 as a farewell to the papists and hope they will howl Amen to it" (p. 28); and again, on Genesis 1, "Aristotle says much of this chapter but proves little" (p. 169), and of Genesis 3, "No fable could be more fabulous" (p. 172). Errors are freely admitted in the sacred writings, as in the contradiction between Genesis 12 and Acts 7, 2 ff., or in the exaggerated numbers in 1 Kings 5, 15. Reichert has added to this an account of two new protocols of the revision of the New Testament,<sup>79</sup> and the first edition of the German Testament (September, 1522) has been accurately reproduced by the Furche-Verlag in Berlin, with good introductions by G. Kawerau and O. Reichert.

Various studies of the relation of Luther's translation to its predecessors have shown that it borrowed little;<sup>80</sup> and its immediate success in driving out all other versions, except to

<sup>77</sup> F. Gess, *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*. Band ii, 1524-27, 1917; O. A. Hecker, *Religion und Politik in den letzten Lebensjahren Herzog Georgs des Bärtigen von Sachsen*, 1912. *Bibliographie der sächsischen Geschichte*, hrsg. von R. Bemann, i, 1918.

<sup>78</sup> *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, *Deutsche Bibel*, iii. Vol. v has also been published. Cf. also, Risch, 'Welche Aufgabe stellt die Lutherbibel der wissenschaftlichen Forschung?' *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1911.

<sup>79</sup> O. Reichert, 'Zwei neue Protokolle zur Revision des Neuen Testaments,' *Luthersstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation*, 1917, pp. 203 ff.

<sup>80</sup> W. W. Florer, *Luthers Use of the Pre-Lutheran Versions of the Bible*, 1913, maintains that he did; but on the other hand, see M. Burgdorf, *Johann Lange*. Rostock Dissertation, 1911, pp. 79 ff.; W. Walther, *Die ersten Konkurrenten des Bibelübersetzers Luther*, 1917; W. Walther, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel*, 1917; Weber, 'Zu Luthers September und December-Testament,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 399.

some small extent the Swiss one by Leo Jud, has been demonstrated by Zerener.<sup>81</sup> Other studies on the linguistic side aim to show that Luther had practically completed his version, in small bits, before he went to the Wartburg.<sup>82</sup> It has now been proved by Reichert that the Bible of 1546 represents Luther's final revision, and not, as previously thought, the changes made by Rörer on his own initiative.<sup>83</sup>

The problem of church government facing Luther has been best stated, perhaps, among recent contributions, by E. Förster,<sup>84</sup> and best answered by Professor Macmillan.<sup>85</sup> Of the two alternatives open to him, that of congregationalism and that of state rule, he would have preferred the former, but was driven by force of circumstances, particularly by the unruly radicals, to embrace the latter. New sources and fresh analyses of his order of divine service,<sup>86</sup> of his system of church visitation,<sup>87</sup> and of his political theory<sup>88</sup> have come forth. A new note is the attention now paid to economic questions and the capitalistic revolution of the sixteenth century.<sup>89</sup> Old, on the other hand, is the problem of Luther and toleration, now again

<sup>81</sup> H. Zerener, *Studien über das beginnende Eindringen der lutherischen Bibelübersetzung in die deutsche Literatur*, 1911.

<sup>82</sup> W. W. Florer, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxvi, 1911, and in a paper read at Modern Language Association, 1915; E. Giese, *Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis von Luthers Sprache zur Wittenberger Drucksprache*, 1915.

<sup>83</sup> *Lutherstudien*, u. s. w., 1917, p. 221; *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiv (1917), p. 227. On the subsequent life of the book, see J. P. Hentz, *History of the Lutheran Version of the Bible*, 1910, and H. Guthe, *Luther und die Bibelforschung der Gegenwart*, 1917.

<sup>84</sup> In *Fifth International Congress of Free Christianity*, English, 1911, p. 225.

<sup>85</sup> K. D. Macmillan, *Protestantism in Germany*, 1917.

<sup>86</sup> P. Drews, *Studien zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes und des gottesdienstlichen Lebens*, iv und v, 1910; K. Holl, 'Die Entstehung von Luthers Kirchenbegriff,' *Forschungen und Versuche zur Geschichte*. Festschrift Dietrich Schäfer dargebracht, 1915, pp. 410 ff.

<sup>87</sup> Berbig, 'Akten der Kursächsischen Visitationen,' *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, xxi (1912), pp. 386-429.

<sup>88</sup> K. Holl, 'Luther und die landesherrliche Kirchenregiment,' *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*. Ergänzungsheft, 1911; E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, 1912.

<sup>89</sup> J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and Economic Questions,' *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2d series, ii, 1910; J. Schliter, 'Luther's Kampf gegen den Kapitalismus,' *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1917, pp. 126 ff.; A. Hilpert, *Die Sequestration der geistlichen Güter in Kursachsen, 1531-43*. Leipzig Dissertation, 1911.



approached with greater acumen and depth than ever.<sup>90</sup> It is clearer than ever that Luther was tolerant in his early years, but that with the triumph of his church, and under the pressure of men more impatient of dissent than himself, he came to justify persecution on the plea that he was putting down, not freedom of belief, but open blasphemy. It is also clear that, however much the Reformation may have temporarily overclouded the European sky with dark fanaticism, it eventually worked out the academic freedom of the Renaissance into a far broader religious liberty for the peoples as a whole.

Passing over, as not particularly important, what has recently been done on Luther's preaching,<sup>91</sup> teaching,<sup>92</sup> and hymns,<sup>93</sup> a word must be said as to the catechisms.<sup>94</sup> A source for the first part of the catechisms has now been found in a book on the Ten Commandments printed at Strassburg in 1516. Since that same year, at least, Luther had regularly preached on them; three cycles of sermons of the year 1528 furnishing him with the well-worked material digested into the Small and Large Catechisms. These were prepared together, the Small Catechism coming out in tabular form in January, 1529, and in book form in May, and the Large Catechism in

<sup>90</sup> N. Paulus, *Protestantismus und Toleranz*, 1911; K. Völker, *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 1912; F. Ruffini, *Religious Liberty*, 1912; R. Lewin, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden*, 1911; P. Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens und Philipps von Hessen zur Taufbewegung*, 1910; G. L. Burr: 'Anent the Middle Ages,' *American Historical Review*, 1913, 710-726; K. Sell, 'Der Zusammenhang von Reformation und politischen Freiheit,' *Abhandlungen und Theologischen Arbeiten aus dem rheinischen wissenschaftlichen Predigerverein*, N. F. xii, 1910; J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and Toleration,' *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2d Series, iv (1914), pp. 129 ff.; Preserved Smith, *Life and Letters of Luther*, 2d ed., Preface, 1914.

<sup>91</sup> L. Ihmels, *Das Dogma in der Predigt Luthers*, 1912; J. A. Singmaster, 'Luther the Preacher,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, July, 1917.

<sup>92</sup> W. Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg*, 1917; W. Köhler, *Die Reformation und die Studenten*, 1917.

<sup>93</sup> J. F. Lauchert, *Luther's Hymns*, 1917; O. Albrecht, 'Das Lutherlied, Was fürchtest du Feind Herodes?' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1912, pp. 287 ff.; O. Brenner, 'Und keinen Dank dazu haben,' *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 72 ff.; Böhmer (*Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 4th ed., p. 145) now asserts that Luther composed the music to *Ein feste Burg*. Grisar (iii, 290), dates this hymn in 1528, calling attention to the striking parallels in the Sermons on John (*Werke*, Weimar, xxviii).

<sup>94</sup> J. Adam, in *Evangelische Freiheit*, xii, 5; O. Albrecht, *Luthers Katechismen*, 1915.

April. As early as 1528 Melanchthon speaks <sup>95</sup> of a schoolbook, or primer, containing the alphabet, creed, Lord's Prayer, and other prayers. Luther's catechism was soon used in the same way; an example of an edition apparently unknown to the Weimar editors is in the library of Mr. G. A. Plimpton of New York.<sup>96</sup>

Among the newer works on Luther's theology may be mentioned those of McGiffert, Gottschick, Seeberg, and Tschackert, and the slighter essays of Faulkner, Baranowski, Preuss, Pohlmann, Lagrange, and Stange.<sup>97</sup>

## V. LAST YEARS

Luther's private life continues to attract attention, especially as our chief source for knowing it, the wonderful Table Talk, is now coming out in the Weimar edition in fuller and better form than ever.<sup>98</sup> Various studies <sup>99</sup> of the reliability of

<sup>95</sup> *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, xxvi, 237.

<sup>96</sup> *Parvus catechismus pro pueris in Schola nuper auctus*. . . . *Ad ludum literarium Autor: Parve puer, parvum tu ne contemne libellum, Continet hic summi Dogmata summa Dei*. Follows a woodcut of the crucifix. There is no date, It begins with letters, vowels, diphthongs and consonants in Latin. There is a picture illustrating each Commandment, one showing baptism by immersion and one showing the wafer put into the communicant's mouth. Mr. Plimpton also has a *Deutsch Catechismus Mar. Luther. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Friederichen Peypus aus verlegung des Ersamen mans Leonard zu der Aych Büchführer zu Nürnberg*. MDXXIX. Mr. Plimpton also possesses, *Parvus catechismus pro pueris in schola nuper auctus per Marti. Luth. Witebergae*. 1543. Preface by John Sauromannus to Hermann Crotus Rubeanus, dated September 29.

<sup>97</sup> A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant*, 1911; J. Gottschick, *Luthers Theologie*, 1914; Tschackert, *Die Entstehung der lutherischen und der Reformierten Kirchenlehre*, 1910; J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and the Divinity of Christ,' *Methodist Review*, 1913, pp. 373 ff.; R. Seeberg, *Luthers Lehre*, (*Dogmengeschichte*, vol. 4), 1917; L. Ihmels, *Das Christentum Luthers in seiner Eigenart*, 1917; H. Preuss, *Luthers Frömmigkeit*, 1917; Pohlmann, *Die Grenze für die Bedeutung des religiösen Erlebnisses bei Luther*, 1920; J. M. Lagrange, *The Meaning of Christianity according to Luther and his Followers in Germany*, 1920; C. Stange, *Luther und das sittliche Ideal*, 1919.

<sup>98</sup> *Luthers Tischenreden*, Weimar, 4 vols. 1912 ff.

<sup>99</sup> Kroker, in *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, viii (1911), pp. 160 ff.; and in *Jahrbuch des Luther-Vereins zu Wittenberg*, i, 1919; A. Wahl, 'Beiträge zur Kritik der Überlieferung von Luthers Tischgesprächen der Frühzeit,' *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, xvii (1920), pp. 11 ff.; F. Cohrs, in *Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier*, 1917, pp. 159 ff.; L. Christiani, 'Les Propos de Table de Luther,' *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1911, pp. 470 ff.; 1912, pp. 101 ff., 436 ff.

this record agree that it is of inferior value to the written works, but nevertheless of considerable worth. An English translation of selections, practically all based on the new editions, has been published in Boston.<sup>100</sup>

The treasures of the Luther house, now a museum, at Wittenberg, have been catalogued by J. von Pflugk-Harttung.<sup>101</sup> Various short articles deal with the Reformer's life within that house and with his family.<sup>102</sup> The old story that Catharine von Bora came to Amsdorf and offered to marry either him or Martin Luther has been traced to its source in an ungallant passage from the memoirs of Amsdorf, who added, untruly, that she was avaricious and took poor care of her husband.<sup>103</sup> It may interest Americans to know that the Reformer's wedding ring, or betrothal ring, has been brought to America by its owner, a German baroness born, now Mrs. Maximilian Pinkert.<sup>104</sup> A novel by J. Knudsen, translated into German by Mathilde Mann under the title *Angst*, turns on Luther's supposed love for a niece of Frau Cotta. A photo-play showed at Berlin in 1914 made Catharine von Bora follow her hero to the Diet of Worms.<sup>105</sup>

A study of Luther's Early Portraits that appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*<sup>106</sup> traced to their origins several contemporary woodcuts, one of which, now in the London Record Office, was apparently sent to Henry VIII by his ambassador in Germany. Much fuller works<sup>107</sup> exhibit the early authentic likenesses of the man and the subsequently changing ideal of the Reformer

<sup>100</sup> *Conversations with Luther*, transl. and ed. by Preserved Smith and H. P. Gallinger, 1915.

<sup>101</sup> 'Aus dem Lutherhause zu Wittenberg,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxx; E. Kroker, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xvii (1920), 280 ff. On the looting of this museum by robbers recently, see the *New York Times*, January 4, 1919.

<sup>102</sup> Preserved Smith, 'The Personal Side of Luther,' *Homiletic Review*, October, 1917.

<sup>103</sup> E. Kroker, 'Luthers Werbung von Katharina von Bora,' *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>104</sup> *New York Times*, January 24, 1916. The ring was for some time on exhibition at the New York Historical Society.

<sup>105</sup> On this, H. von Schubert, *Luthers Frühentwicklung*, 1916, p. 7. The plot of *Angst* must resemble that of Mrs. Charles's *Schönberg-Cotta Family*.

<sup>106</sup> July, 1913, by Preserved Smith.

<sup>107</sup> H. Preuss, *Lutherbildnisse historisch-kultisch gesichtet und erläutert*, 1914; J. Ficker, *Die ältesten Bildnisse Luthers*, 1920.

throughout the centuries, to all of which he appeared in a different character, as the Man of God, the Prophet, the Pietist, the Rationalist, the Liberal, the Patriot, the Personality. It may be worth noting here that paintings of Luther and his wife were made, probably after Cranach, by Lorenzo Lotto in Venice in 1540.<sup>108</sup> Are these the ones now in the Milan Gallery? Other likenesses now and then turn up.<sup>109</sup> The death-mask is now known to be spurious.<sup>110</sup>

Various studies of several aspects of Luther's declining years have thrown into relief his relations with Philip of Hesse,<sup>111</sup> with Schwenckfeld,<sup>112</sup> and with Calvin.<sup>113</sup> Three new accounts<sup>114</sup> of his death have been discovered in America, the first, believed by Spaeth to be by John Albrecht, clerk of Mansfeld, has been criticized by Strieder in Germany; that published by Burr is a worthless account by an unknown writer; the third is a letter from Caspar Hedio to Count Philip of Hanau, dated March 16 and 19, 1546. A new form of the Catholic legend of Luther's death, to the effect that the devil carried him away as he was blaspheming the Virgin, has been discovered in France.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>108</sup> *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*. I. Roma. 1884, p. 123, "Libro dei conti di Lorenzo Lotto," entry in Lotto's hand: "1540, 17 ott. A Mario d'Armano, suo nipote, doi quadretti del retratto de Martin Luter et sua moier per donarli al Tristan." On the portrait of Luther seen by Bembo at Mantua in 1537, see V. Cian, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, ix (1887), p. 131.

<sup>109</sup> See *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. iv, 221 ff., 1913, and ix, 173 ff., 1918.

<sup>110</sup> Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 5th ed., 1918, p. 297.

<sup>111</sup> J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and the Bigamous Marriage of Philip of Hesse,' *American Journal of Theology*, 1913, pp. 206 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, ed Hartranft, vols. ii to iv, 1911 ff.; K. Ecke, *Schwenckfeld, Luther, und der Gedanke einer apostolischen Reformation*, 1911.

<sup>113</sup> Nösgen in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxii (1911), 7 ff.; E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, ii, 562 ff.

<sup>114</sup> G. L. Burr, 'A new Fragment on Luther's death,' *American Historical Review*, xvi (1911), 1 ff.; A. Spaeth, in *Lutheran Church Review*, xxix (1910), 313 ff. On this, denying its value, see J. Strieder, in *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xv (1912), 379 ff.; and *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1913, pp. 314 ff.; J. Strieder, *Authentische Berichte über Luthers letzte Lebensstunden* (Kleine Texte, no. 99); J. Heederschee, 'Luther's Laatste Levensdagen,' *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, li (1917), 5 ff.; C. Schubart, *Berichte über Luthers Tod und Begräbnis*, 1917; Preserved Smith, 'Some Old Unpublished Letters,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 1919, pp. 204 ff. Two letters on the subject were published by G. Kawerau in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1913, pp. 134 ff.

<sup>115</sup> *Les Regretz et Complaintes de Passe partout et Bruict qui court*. . . Par Fr. Picart, 1557; quoted by H. Hauser, *Études sur la Réforme française*, 1909, p. 273.

## VI. WORKS, DOCUMENTS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The great Weimar edition of Luther's works is now, with sixty volumes, nearing completion.<sup>116</sup> A number of German editions of selections and translations from the works have come out recently, the most important for scholars being that in five volumes by O. Clemen.<sup>117</sup> Two volumes of an excellent English translation are due to the labors of American Lutherans; let us hope that the other eight volumes will follow as planned.<sup>118</sup> A convenient list of the Reformer's works, complete, and with references to the best edition, has come from the pen of Professor Gustav Kawerau.<sup>119</sup>

Eleven volumes of Luther's letters were published by Enders before his death in July, 1907. The work was then taken up by Professor Gustav Kawerau, who brought out the next five volumes, and had almost completed reading the proof of the seventeenth when he died, December 1, 1918. Professor Paul Flemming completed the printing of the seventeenth volume, containing the letters of the year 1546 and supplements to the year 1536;<sup>120</sup> he writes me that another volume of supplements may be expected. An English version<sup>121</sup> of copious selections from Luther's correspondence and of contemporary letters bearing on his career, furnishes also some new material and aims to correct Enders in the light of recent research. Numer-

<sup>116</sup> *Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, u. s. w., Weimar, 1883 ff. On this, O. Albrecht in *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 29 ff.; the same volume contains much else on Luther's manuscripts, and on their first printing.

<sup>117</sup> *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, hrsg. von O. Clemen, 1912 ff.

<sup>118</sup> *Works of Martin Luther*. Philadelphia, Holman. 2 vols., 1915, 1916 (translations by C. M. Jacobs, W. A. Lambert, J. J. Schindel, A. T. W. Steinhäuser, and A. L. Steimle).

<sup>119</sup> Kawerau, *Luthers Schriften nach der Reihenfolge der Jahren verzeichnet*, 1917.

<sup>120</sup> *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, bearbeitet von E. L. Enders, fortgesetzt von G. Kawerau, weitergeführt von P. Flemming. Vol. 17. 1920. Professor Flemming has most kindly sent me the proofs of part of volume 18, publication of which is delayed. Professor Kawerau's death was a personal sorrow to me, as I shall never forget the extraordinary kindness he showed to me, an utter stranger, during my student years in Berlin.

<sup>121</sup> *Luther's Correspondence and other Contemporary Letters*, translated and edited by Preserved Smith. Vol. i, 1913. Vol. ii, in collaboration with C. M. Jacobs, 1918.

ous supplements to the letters may be found scattered throughout German magazines; and various studies of the subject should not pass without notice.<sup>122</sup> Among collections of pertinent documents that by Kidd<sup>123</sup> should be remembered, and among paleographical studies those by Clemen and Mentz.<sup>124</sup>

At the head of recently published bibliographies stand the comprehensive work of Gustav Wolf,<sup>125</sup> and the eighth edition of Dahlmann-Waitz.<sup>126</sup> A less pretentious but well selected bibliography has been published in English by Kieffer, Rockwell, and Pannkoke.<sup>127</sup> New editions of Böhmer's *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*,<sup>128</sup> now translated into English, are as readable as ever but no more reliable than before. Thoroughly trustworthy estimates of recent research in this field may be found in the works of Reu<sup>129</sup> and of Köhler.<sup>130</sup> *The Lutheran Quarterly* has printed a complete list of English translations of Luther's works, numbering an even hundred titles.<sup>131</sup>

Of the many new biographies of Luther called forth by the quadricentenary or its approach, only the scientifically noteworthy can here be reviewed. By far the most important is

<sup>122</sup> T. Lockemann, *Technische Studien zu Luthers Briefen an Friedrich den Weisen*, 1913; P. Flemming, 'Die Lutherbriefe in der Rörersammlung,' in *Studien G. Kawerau dargebracht*, 1917, pp. 21 ff.; G. Kawerau, 'Die Bemühungen im 16, 17, und 18 Jahrhundert, Luthers Briefe zu sammeln und herauszugeben,' in *Lutherstudien*, 1917, 1 ff.

<sup>123</sup> B. J. Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, 1911.

<sup>124</sup> G. Mentz, *Handschriften aus der Reformationszeit*, 1912; O. Clemen, *Handschriftenproben aus der Reformationszeit*, 1911.

<sup>125</sup> *Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformation*, 2 vols., 1915, 1916; on Luther, ii, 167 ff. To this should be added A. Herte's dissertation, *Die Lutherbiographie des J. Cochlaeus*, 1915, and the bibliography in Preserved Smith, *Age of the Reformation*, 1920.

<sup>126</sup> *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, 8th ed., 1912. Cf. also *Bibliographie der sächsischen Geschichte*, hrsg. von R. Bemann, i, 1918.

<sup>127</sup> *List of References on the History of the Reformation in Germany*, by G. L. Kieffer, W. W. Rockwell, and O. H. Pannkoke, 1917.

<sup>128</sup> Fourth edition 1917, fifth 1918; English translation from third edition, 1916.

<sup>129</sup> J. M. Reu, *Thirty-five Years of Luther Research*, 1917.

<sup>130</sup> 'Der gegenwärtige Stand der Lutherforschung,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxvii (1918), pp. 1-60.

<sup>131</sup> Preserved Smith, 'Complete List of Works of Luther in English,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, October, 1918. Cf. also F. Wiener, *Naogeorgus in English*, 1913.

the immense effort represented in Hartmann Grisar's 2500 lexicon-octavo pages, three stout volumes in the German now turned into six English ones.<sup>132</sup> Disclaiming the intention of writing an "artistic biography," with which he thinks the market drugged, he purposes to judge Luther solely as a religious phenomenon. Thus he is enabled to pass lightly over such things as are well known or favorable to the Reformer, and to dwell at immense length on whatever makes for his hostile, albeit courteously expressed and temperate, verdict. The most original and permanently valuable portion of the work is the study of the early years, showing how the Reformer's life reacted on the development of his doctrine. It was his quarrel with the Observant friars that gave him his first idea of the worthlessness of good works; it was his own hopeless struggle against concupiscence that convinced him of man's impotence of will. Grisar's further criticisms of Luther's character and influence are in part justified; but had he been in really genial relations with his subject he would never have thought that what he objected to much mattered. But if the book be judged not by its bias or by the merits of the question, but by what can be learned from it, Grisar's immense erudition will give it high rank.

Other biographies, mostly of the popular sort, must be mentioned for special qualities—Elsie Singmaster's for its charming style;<sup>133</sup> Schubert's new edition of Hausrath for its combined brilliancy and insight;<sup>134</sup> the work of Schreckenbach and Neubert<sup>135</sup> for its astounding wealth of instructive illustration; those of Harnack, Lenz, and Köhler<sup>136</sup> for their thorough re-

<sup>132</sup> H. Grisar, *Luther*, 3 vols. 1911, 1912; English translation by E. M. Lamond, 6 vols., 1913 ff. Among the many reviews of this work or replies to it, the most important Protestant criticism is G. Kawerau, *Luther in katholischer Beleuchtung*, 1911.

<sup>133</sup> E. Singmaster (Mrs. E. S. Lewis), *Life of Martin Luther*, 1917.

<sup>134</sup> A. Hausrath, *Luthers Leben*. Neue Auflage von H. von Schubert, 1914. Hausrath occasionally makes rash and unsupported statements, some of which were taken over from the first edition by A. C. McGiffert in his life of Luther, 1911.

<sup>135</sup> *Martin Luther. Mit 384 Bildungen*, von P. Schreckenbach und F. Neubert, 1916.

<sup>136</sup> A. von Harnack, *M. Luther und die Begründung der Reformation*, 1917; W. Köhler, *M. Luther und die deutsche Reformation*, 1916; Id., *M. Luther der deutsche Reformator*, 1917; M. Lenz, *Luther und der deutsche Geist*, 1917. Cf. also Etzin, *M. Luther, sein Leben und sein Werk*, 1917; P. Severinsen, *M. Luthers Liv*, 1911.

liability and skilful compression; that of Christiani<sup>137</sup> for its worthlessness. The new volume of A. Berger's *M. Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung*<sup>138</sup> is notable for its careful analysis of the Reformer's influence on contemporary and subsequent art, literature, music, and philosophy. He reckons Luther's career as the first revelation of German inwardness in its world-transforming might, and he calls his discovery that the church was a purely spiritual entity the greatest that had ever come into the history of the church.

Perhaps a little study by Walther on Luther's character is best placed next to the biographies. Taking, as usual, the rôle of an attorney for the defence, Walther feels called upon to apologize for, or to praise, every single act and trait of his hero, though this is difficult, for the very brilliancy of the man's moral complexion makes the blotches on it stand out all the more distinctly.<sup>139</sup> An Italian, writing on the same subject, concludes that Luther was a paranoiac afflicted with morbid egotism as a monomania.<sup>140</sup>

Of the general histories in which Luther plays a large part no more can be said than to mention by name those of Vedder, Walker, Hulme, Below, W. C. Abbott, G. F. Moore, Bauslin, Taylor, and Preserved Smith.<sup>141</sup> But the monographs devoted to an explanation of his influence and place in thought call for

<sup>137</sup> L. Christiani: *Du Luthéranisme au Protestantisme 1517-28*, 1911.

<sup>138</sup> A. E. Berger, *Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung*. Zweiter Teil, zweite Hälfte, 1919.

<sup>139</sup> W. Walther, *Luthers Charakter*, 1917. See also N. Söderblom, *Humor och Melankoli och andra Lutherstudier*, Stockholm, 1919.

<sup>140</sup> Rivari, *La mente ed li carattere di Martino Luthero*, 1914.

<sup>141</sup> H. C. Vedder, *The Reformation in Germany*, 1913. Good summary, though too severe, of effects of Reformation, pp. 389-393; W. Walker, *History of the Christian Church*, 1918; E. M. Hulme, *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation*, 1914; G. von Below, *Die Ursachen der Reformation*, 1917; W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, 2 vols. 1918; G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, ii. *Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism*, 1919; D. H. Bauslin, *The Lutheran Movement of the Sixteenth Century*, 1919; H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. 1920; Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*, 1920. One might add for the sake of completeness the worthless Catholic review by P. Bernard, 'Pour le quatrième centenaire de la Réformation,' *Études*, Tome 153, pp. 137 ff., 308 ff., 468 ff., 733 ff.; Tome 154, pp. 157 ff., 305 ff., 420 ff. (1917-1918). The famous *Outlines of History* by H. G. Wells has only a few conventional sentences on Luther.



a slightly more specific treatment. First of all, for the sake of convenience, one may put the anthologies, or studies tracing the changing opinion of the Reformer throughout the centuries. To the general reviews by Wentz and Harvey may be added the special studies of estimates of Luther in Germany by Eckart, in France by L. H. Humphrey, and in England by Preserved Smith.<sup>142</sup>

Ernst Troeltsch<sup>143</sup> continues to defend and develop his view of Luther as a conservative force in religion, to emphasize the likeness of Old Protestantism and Catholicism and their common contrast with the New Protestantism which began in the Enlightenment. Luther's sole object, he urges, was the old one of attaining salvation, and as he sought to attain it in a new way he overemphasized the means at the expense of the end sought, thus finally making the tyranny of dogma unbearable. With Luther, Troeltsch writes:

The assurance of salvation must be based on a miracle in order to be certain; but this miracle must be one occurring in the inmost centre of the personal life, and must be clearly intelligible in its whole intellectual significance if it is a miracle which guarantees complete assurance. . . . The sensuous sacramental miracle is done away, and in its stead appears the miracle of thought, that man in his sin and weakness can grasp and confidently assent to such a thought. That is the end of priesthood and hierarchy, the sacramental communication of ethico-religious powers.

Walter Köhler, on the other hand, attributes a high value to the new thought brought in by Luther, finding in him the forerunner of transcendentalism; his greatness was that "he so completely penetrated the objective world of concepts that it lost, not indeed its existence, but its value, and instead of on

<sup>142</sup> A. E. Harvey, 'Martin Luther in the Estimate of Modern Historians,' *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1918; A. R. Wentz, *Martin Luther in the Changing Light of Four Centuries*, 1916; R. Eckart, *Luther und die Reformation im Urteil bedeutender Männer*, 2d ed., 1917; L. H. Humphrey, 'French Estimates of Luther,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, April, 1918; Preserved Smith, 'English Opinion of Luther,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 1917. The last chapter of *The Age of the Reformation* by the same writer is devoted to a history of the historiography of the Reformation.

<sup>143</sup> E. Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress*, 1912, pp. 198, 192 f.; *Id.*, 'Luther und der Protestantismus,' *Neue Rundschau*, October, 1917; *Id.*, 'Protestantismus und Kultur,' *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1912. Troeltsch's view that Luther was medieval is exaggerated by R. Wolff, *Studien zu Luthers Weltanschauung*, 1920.

this the postulates by which we live became anchored on the ground of the subject and of its experience.”<sup>144</sup>

A judicious and philosophical estimate of the problem of Luther's significance is given by P. Imbart de la Tour.<sup>145</sup> Calling attention to the fact that Luther revolted from the church only in the interests of a larger church, he argues that, though autonomy of religion and conscience would have been the logical result of some of his doctrines, nevertheless in fact, “his completely mystical doctrine of inner inspiration has no resemblance whatever to our subjectivism. The idea of a doctrinal truth and of a religious society always obsessed him.” Imbart de la Tour finds it remarkable that Luther's pessimistic doctrine could succeed in the young, ardent society of the Renaissance, and thinks this success was due to his personality, which was his only true originality. He sums up adversely: “The classic spirit, free institutions, the democratic ideal, all these great forces by which we live are not the heritage of Luther.”

Nietzsche's idea of the Reformation as a great reaction and nothing more is now held in many quarters. The extreme and amusing expression given to it by Anatole France may be quoted on account of its author's fame. After recounting the triumphs of the Renaissance, when men began to revive antiquity and to make discoveries, he continues:<sup>146</sup>

From that time the star of the God of the Christians paled and began to set. . . . Already the comely Graces and the Nymphs and Satyrs danced in merry choir; at last the earth rediscovered joy. But, oh horror! oh ill fortune! oh fatal event! A German friar, swollen with beer and theology, set himself against this nascent paganism, threatened it, fulminated against it, prevailed alone against the princes of the church, and, rousing the people,

<sup>144</sup> ‘Luther hat die objective Begriffswelt so völlig durchdrungen, das sie zwar nicht ihre Existenz, wohl aber ihren Wert verlor, und statt dessen der Anker der Lebensbehauptung auf den Boden des Subjects und seiner Erfahrung fiel.’ *Luther und die deutsche Reformation*, 1916. Santayana would agree with Troeltsch in this statement, but would deplore instead of exulting in it. See his *Egotism in German Philosophy*, 1917, pp. 1 ff., 23.

<sup>145</sup> ‘Luther,’ in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1912, 6<sup>me</sup> période, pp. 309 ff.; the same reprinted in *Les Origines de la Réforme*, iii, 1914, chap. 1; *Id.*, ‘Pourquoi Luther n’a-t-il pas créé qu’un Christianisme allemand?’ *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, pp. 575–612.

<sup>146</sup> A. France, *La Révolte des Anges*, 1914, pp. 237 ff.

led them to a reform which saved what was about to be destroyed. . . . This robust sailor repaired, caulked, and relaunched the derelict bark of the church. Jesus Christ owes it to this scamp of a friar that his shipwreck was put off for perhaps more than ten centuries. From this time things went from bad to worse. After the big fellow with the cowl, drunken and quarrelsome, came the long, dry doctor of Geneva, full of the spirit of the antique Jehovah, who tried to force the world back to the abominable times of Joshua and the Judges of Israel, a madman in his cold fury, a heretic burning heretics, the most savage enemy of the Graces.

From the opposite point of view the Catholic admits and laments the same facts. For Hilaire Belloc the Reformation was the turning back of the tide of culture and Christianity represented by the Catholic Church, and Luther was "one of those exuberant, sensual, rather inconsequential, characters," who did not know what he was doing, or what he wanted to do.<sup>147</sup>

The same view of Luther as the great reactionary is set forth by Havelock Ellis, who speaks of him as "the gigantic peasant who, with too exuberant energy, battered the dying church into acute sensibility, kicked it into emotion, galvanized it into life, prolonged its existence a thousand years."<sup>148</sup> The subject of Luther's personality has drawn from his pen an original, if not quite exhaustive, study.<sup>149</sup> He calls him an "adept in the culture of his land and day, eagerly devoted to literature, a poet, a good musician, accomplished in the mechanical uses of his hands, the intimate friend of Cranach, a skilful dialectician," and "a true German in his close combination, alike in speech and act, of the abstract with the realistic, of the emotional with the material." Notwithstanding coarseness and "a spitefulness once termed feminine," there is in him "something homely, human, genial, almost lovable."

Among the popular writers to pay their respects to the Reformer the Irish novelist George Moore has taken his place. Having written an absurd drama on St. Paul and an obscene biography of Jesus, he at one time designed to construct a five-act play on Luther's career.<sup>150</sup> Mercifully, perhaps, he

<sup>147</sup> H. Belloc, *Europe and the Faith*, 1920, pp. 219 f.

<sup>148</sup> Havelock Ellis, *Impressions and Comments*, 1915.

<sup>149</sup> H. Ellis, *The Philosophy of Conflict*, second series, 1919, pp. 89-99.

<sup>150</sup> George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*, 1886, new ed. 1917, p. 161; on the drama see further, *Salve*, 1912, pp. 183, 191 ff.; *Vale*, 1914, p. 104.

got no further than the dedication, a French sonnet to Swinburne, worth quoting for its popular interest:

Accepte, tu verras la foi mêlée au crime  
 Se souiller dans le sang sacré de la raison,  
 Quand surgit, redempteur du vieux peuple saxon,  
 Luther à Wittenberg comme Christ à Solime.

These interesting outbursts express in unbridled language the not uncommon conviction that the Reformation was essentially a reaction. Many voices <sup>151</sup> have been raised on both sides of the hotly debated problem; it is amusing to notice another popular writer speaking of Luther in exactly opposite terms, as the restorer and not the destroyer of the antique paganism. Gilbert Keith Chesterton writes: "That great and human, but very pagan person, Martin Luther . . . was a sign of the break-up of Catholicism, but was not a builder of Protestantism. . . . He was an anarchist and therefore a dreamer." <sup>152</sup>

Professor Arthur C. McGiffert, who once saw in Luther "the conservative and intolerant" man who "introduced a régime of religious bigotry for a long time as narrow and as blighting to intellectual growth as Roman Catholicism at its worst," <sup>153</sup> and whose "ideals of liberty were not ours," now <sup>154</sup> asserts: "Not justification by faith is the central principle of the Protestant Reformation, but freedom for human service." Professor W. W. Rockwell's summary account of "Luther and the Catholic Church" <sup>155</sup> is well worth reading for its combined

<sup>151</sup> A. von Harnack, 'Die Reformation,' *Internationale Monatsschrift*, xi, 1918; M. Lenz, 'Luthers Weltgeschichtliche Stellung,' *Preussische Jahrbücher*, clxx (1917), pp. 165 ff.; F. Heiler, *Luthers religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, 1918; *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, articles by C. A. Bernouilli, 'La Réforme de Luther et les problèmes de la culture présente'; E. Ehrhardt, 'Le sens de la révolution religieuse et morale accomplie par Luther'; J. Chevalier, 'Les deux Réformes: le Luthéranisme en Allemagne, le Calvinisme dans les pays de langue anglaise'; C. Andler, 'L'esprit conservateur et l'esprit révolutionnaire dans le Luthéranisme.'

<sup>152</sup> G. K. Chesterton, *The Crimes of England*, 1918. Cf. also his *Irish Impressions*, 1920, p. 206.

<sup>153</sup> *Martin Luther: The Man and His Work*, 1911, p. 382.

<sup>154</sup> 'The Unfinished Reformation,' in *Bulletin of Union Theological Seminary*, October 31, 1917.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

judiciousness and brilliance of statement. My own estimate of Luther and the Reformation has often been given, and need not be repeated here.<sup>156</sup>

The connection between the Reformation and the Great War has received attention in a large number of books, of which only a few can be mentioned here.<sup>157</sup> Paquier, the French Catholic, holds that Luther was largely responsible for the war by his teaching of blind obedience to the state, by his separation of inward justification from outward works, by his express approval of war, and by his brutality and chauvinism. Weiss, a French Protestant, asserts that the war is an apostasy from Luther's doctrine, though the actions of the Germans in it might have been foretold in his saying, "We Germans are and remain Germans, that is, swine and beasts without reason." Kawerau, a German Protestant, mobilizes Luther in favor of an active prosecution of the war and quotes his severe judgments of French, English, and Italians. Bishop Hensley Henson,<sup>158</sup> in a sermon preached on the quadricentenary festival of the Reformation, exonerates Luther from responsibility for the subsequent growth of German materialism and militarism. On the contrary, "his supreme and unassailable merit," Henson thinks, "lies in the fact that he led the way in a process of spiritual emancipation. . . . He was cast in a large mould and was never consciously false to his perception of truth."

Three special topics for which no convenient place has been found in the above summary, must perforce be put in the ap-

<sup>156</sup> *Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, 1911, and preface to second edition, 1914; 'Luther,' in *International Encyclopaedia*, 1918; 'Luther' 1517-1917, *Outlook*, October 31, 1917; 'The Reformation 1517-1917,' *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1918; 'The Reformation interpreted in the Light of its Achievements,' Paper read at American Historical Association, December, 1917, to be printed in *Papers of the American Society of Church History; The Age of the Reformation*, 1920.

<sup>157</sup> J. Paquier, *Luther et l'Allemagne*, 1918, with list of books on the subject, pp. viii ff.; N. Weiss, 'Pour le quatrième centenaire de la Réformation,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 1917, pp. 178 ff.; K. Kawerau, *Luthers Gedanken über den Krieg*, 1916; E. Vermeil, 'Les aspects religieux de la guerre,' *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, pp. 893-921; J. A. Faulkner: 'Luther and the Great War,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, October, 1920, pp. 448 ff.

<sup>158</sup> *Sermons*, 1918, p. 274. Cf. Preserved Smith, 'Luther and the Hohenzollerns,' *Outlook*, April 23, 1919.

pendix to this report. Lauchert <sup>159</sup> has made an interesting and thorough study of the opposition to Luther in Italy; E. Wolff <sup>160</sup> has tried to prove that the Faust of the original German Faust Book was a parody of Luther, this Faust being a professor at Wittenberg, learned and fond of drinking, his marriage with Helena recalling the Catholic parody of the wedding of Catharine von Bora, and the appearance before the emperor that of his call to Worms; even his compact with the devil being such as an apostate might make. An American student <sup>161</sup> has found the missing link between Luther and Shakespeare in the "mooncalf" adopted by the English poet apparently from a translation of the Reformer's work of that name.

<sup>159</sup> F. Lauchert, *Die italienischen literarischen Gegner Luthers*, 1912.

<sup>160</sup> E. Wolff, *Faust und Luther*, 1912. Luther is discussed in F. B. Busoni's new opera, *Doktor Faust*, 1920. The libretto is not from Goethe, but is original.

<sup>161</sup> Preserved Smith, 'The Mooncalf,' *Modern Philology*, January, 1914.